6.—The Fairy who Married her Human Lover.

It is not believed in Astor that fairies ever marry human beings, but in Gilgit there is a legend to that effect. A famous sportsman, Kibá Lorí, who never returned empty-handed from any excursion, kept company with a fairy to whom he was deeply attached. Once in the hot weather the fairy said to him not to go out shooting during "the seven days of the summer," "Canicular," which are called "Barda," and are supposed to be the hottest days in Dardistan. "I am," said she, "obliged to leave you for that period, and, mind, you do not follow me." The sportsman promised obedience and the fairy vanished, saying that he would certainly die if he attempted to follow her. Our love-intoxicated Nimrod, however, could not endure her absence. On the fourth day he shouldered his gun and went out with the hope of meeting her. Crossing a range, he came upon a plain, where he saw an immense gathering of game of all sorts and his beloved fairy milking a "Kill" (*markhor*) and gathering the milk into a silver vessel. The noise which Kibá Lorí made caused the animal to start and to strike out with his legs, which upset the silver vessel. The fairy looked up, and to her anger beheld the disobedient lover. She went up to him and, after reproaching him, struck him in the face. But she had scarcely done so when despair mastered her heart, and she cried out in the deepest anguish that "he now must die within four days." "However," she said, "do shoot one of these animals, so that people may not say that you have returned empty-handed." The poor man returned crestfallen to his home, lay down, and died on the fourth day.

C.—Dayals = Wizards and Witches.

The gift of second sight, or rather the intercourse with fairies, is confined to a few families in which it is hereditary. The wizard is made to inhale the fumes of a fire which is lit with the wood of the *tráli*[1] (Panjabi = Padam), a kind

[1] Elsewhere called *tálá*.

of fir-wood which gives much smoke. Into the fire the milk of a white sheep or goat is poured. The wizard inhales the smoke till he apparently becomes insensible. He is then taken on the lap of one of the spectators, who sings a song which restores him to his senses. In the meanwhile, a goat is slaughtered, and the moment the fortune-teller jumps up, its bleeding neck is presented to him, which he sucks as long as a drop remains. The assembled musicians then strike up a great noise, and the wizard rushes about in the circle which is formed round him and talks unintelligibly. The fairy then appears at some distance and sings, which, however, only the wizard hears. He then communicates her sayings in a song to one of the musicians, who explains its meaning to the people. The wizard is called upon to foretell events and to give advice in cases of illness, etc. The people believe that in ancient times these Dryahs invariably spoke correctly, but that now scarcely one saying in a hundred turns out to be true. Wizards do not now make a livelihood by their talent, which is considered its own reward.

---

173 There are few legends so exquisite as the one which chronicles the origin, or rather the rise, of Gilgit. The traditions regarding Alexander the Great, which Vigne and others have imagined to exist among the people of Dardistan, are unknown to, at any rate, the Shins now, excepting in so far as any Mussulmi accompanying the Maharajah's troops may, perhaps, accidentally have referred to them in conversation with a Shin. Any such information would have been derived from the Sikandarnama of Nizami, and would, therefore, possess no original value. There exist no ruins, as far as I have gone, to point to an occupation of Dardistan by the soldiers of Alexander. The following legend, however, which not only lives in the memories of all the Shin people, whether they be Chilasis, Astoris, Gilgitis, or Brokhpâ (the latter, as I discovered, living actually side by side with the Baltis in Little Tibet), but which also an annual festival commemorates, is not devoid of interest from either a historical or a purely literary point of view.

[for text see category 539, pp. 9-14. -- Ansyal]

[illegible]

but if he dies then his real self at home dies in a day or two. On this occasion there were present many Bilas from all quarters."

In taking leave of the Bilas it is, I presume, superfluous to lay stress on their similarity to the witches of the West. Almost every point that has been mentioned above can be duplicated from European records of witches.

The Dayals.

We now come to the Dayal, the last of the characters whom I propose to treat of here. Dayals are superhumanly endowed human beings, who at the present day chiefly exhibit their powers by furnishing answers to recondite questions. They supply on request information relating to what lies outside the scope of the ordinary senses of sight and hearing, and regarding what is going to come to pass in the future.

Their sources of knowledge are hidden, but there is nothing obscure about their procedure, for they exhibit their powers before all the world in broad daylight.

The public attend on the local polo ground, which corresponds to the village green. At one side sit the local band of drums and pipes and the Dayal enters the circle formed by the spectators. There he primes himself by inhaling the smoke of burning juniper twigs which has some sort of intoxicating effect on him. After this he divides his time between stooping over and listening to the drums, dancing round the circle in various measures and posturing in the middle of it.

At certain points he may be asked questions by members of the general public, the answers to which he ostensibly obtains by listening to the drums or by watching the behaviour of some grains of corn thrown on the vibrating parchment of a drum. His answers are couched in language which is really I think unintelligible, but which someone eventually is always found to interpret.

V.

The Ceremony of Nagi Sochomi.

Nagi Sochomi is said to be a goddess who lived at Nangam in the Astore district, on a stone altar situated at the foot of the Nagpaha hill. In former times cases of theft requiring settlement by oath were decided by the defendant's swearing on this sacred platform in the following manner. A man called Jongani was specially appointed by the Raja to accompany the defendant to the place, receiving eight yards of cloth from the suspected person. A she-goat was killed on the altar and the meat cooked and eaten by all those present, in utensils which were always kept and are still kept there. The defendant had now to utter the following words loudly: "O Nagi Sochomi, inflict punishment upon me if I am guilty of the crime, but, if the plaintiff has laid a false claim upon me, be so kind as to inflict a calamity on him!" They then returned quietly to their homes in the darkness of night. None of the men who had attended this solemnity were allowed to appear in daylight before others of the village, and if by chance one of them showed himself to any villager, he had to repay whatever loss there arose from the theft, or from any untoward circumstance happening to the discoverer of the offending persons at dawn of that day. For some days the case was left awaiting the decision of "Nagi Sochomi," and if in this period the suspected person suffered any kind of loss of property, of relatives, etc., he was adjudged guilty, and the total amount of loss by the theft was recovered from him and repaid to the plaintiff.

"Khuran" or "Hayani."

In Chilas and in the adjacent valleys of Jalkot, Palas, Koli, Darel, Tangir, Gor, Harban, and Sazin, the disputes between two individuals or parties are settled by a peculiar ceremony called "Khuran" in Shinaki (Chilas, Darel, Tangir, Gor, Harban and Sazin), and "Hayani" in Kohistani (Jalkot, Palas, and Koli). By this ceremony each of the opposite parties has to prove itself wealthier than the other, and whichever proves to be the poorer is forced to submit to the other. The ceremony is performed by each party giving food to all the villagers at a place called "Kai." Whichever party provides the larger feast gains the day, while the other must needs submit.

VI.

[illegible]

There are some men and women of these parts who are called Danyals. When they are worked up into a state of frenzy the giants and fairies instruct them concerning the future of the country, the chiefs, etc. Whenever a chief is inquisitive on the subject of his future, he sends for the Danyals as well as the local musicians. A bundle of green chili leaves is then brought, and some of them, with a little *ghi*, are put into a small fire and burnt in an enclosure set apart for the purpose. As soon as the smoke rises, one or two Danyals push their way towards the fire and begin to inhale the smoke, until

they lose their senses and commence to dance to the noise of the drums. They also eat some of the extremely bitter leaves of the "chili" (Juniperus macrocarpa) while dancing. The music then becomes fast and furious, and the onlookers cheer loudly. The Danyals glance from time to time towards the surrounding trees, among which the giants and fairies have taken up a position. After a short dance the Danyals place their heads on the shoulders of the drum-beaters and their ears on the drums, as if they are very attentively listening to what the drums says. In a short time they again commence dancing, and sing the prophecies they have been told by the drums. If there be anybody present wearing red clothes when a Danyal is dancing, the Danyal is much annoyed and rushes at him. No man clad in red clothes is therefore allowed to be present. After an hour's dance the performance closes, and one or two strong men appear in the circle, and the Danyals climb upon their backs and are carried away out of the enclosure to a house, in which after a short rest they recover from their frenzy.

I once asked a Danyal woman of Gilgit how she had become a Danyal, and after long hesitation she related to me the following story: "When about seven years of age I used to go with my flocks to the distant pastures on the hills. Once I saw a fairy sitting on a Chili tree and eating its leaves. Her eyes were brilliant and large, with thick eyebrows, which were high above the eyes and almost joining the hair of her head. She came towards me and asked me to accompany her, saying that her house was built of gold, and that I should be well feasted there. Hearing this I lost my senses, and as I was then standing on the edge of a stream, I fell down into it and got a severe wound on the right thigh. Some of the shepherd boys who were also feeding their flocks at some distance saw me fall, and, hastily taking me out of the water, carried me to the village. My father then killed a goat in order to ascertain if I were really under the power of the fairies, and I drank all of its blood, but I was unconscious of what was going on around and remained in this state for about ten days without taking any food. During this time the number of giants and fairies which appeared to me increased to fourteen, of whom seven were Muhammadans and seven Hindus, each sect remaining apart. Their queen, who was Hindu, was clad like a fakir and had gathered her hair on the top of her head, upon which she wore a cap. They brought and showed me different kinds of food, but gave me nothing to eat. In those days they taught me to dance, and the following two incantations called "Gane" and "Wiyo":—

Gane.

Ganam, Ganam, [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible] ganam; [illegible]

1 When I first saw a dance by a Danyal woman [illegible] at Gilgit, a man with a red [illegible] came into the circle. This enraged the Danyal, although she herself [illegible].

D. Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 A73 Dard A73

pariyan ganem; Hal ai mar ganem; Sar ai sitai ganem; Yujan ai barbali ganem; 787
Barbali ai Chhai ganem; Sun ai sumaling ganem; Jin jaraw ganem; Sarl sarpish 788
ganem; Sat khap barai ganem; Drang ai ilan ganem; Khote ilan ganem; Hunas rang
ganem; Chin chili ganem; Noeli sutai ganem; Jin ai sylo ganem; Tare ai dhor ganem; 791
Trakhan ai Yudaini ganem; Yudaini ai Hazredi ganem; Gao ai batholi ganem.

Wiyo.

Must, Must, Trakhan ai *Zodi* must; *Zodi* ai *Hazredi* must, &c. &c., continues in the same way up to end of Gano.

Translation—

Gano.

I will bind, I will bind, I will bind *Zodi* (a fairy) of Trakhan (a chief of Gilgit). I will bind Hazredi the daughter of *Zodi*. I will bind Gaurodi the daughter of Yun (a fairy, also the moon). I will bind the sole of the foot. I will bind Ilang (a giant) of the lower strata of the earth. I will bind all the insects. I will bind giants and wild animals. I will bind the colt of a mare. I will bind the offspring of an ass. I will bind the lamb of a sheep. I will bind the kid of a goat. I will bind the bullet of a gun. I will bind the blackthorn of the jungle. I will bind the green pastures. I will bind the fields of fairies. I will bind the key of demons. I will bind the pregnant women. I will bind men for fighting. I will bind the way of giants. I will bind the stars of the sky. I will bind the poison of the earth. I will bind seven hundred fairies. I will bind the springs of streams. I will bind the outlets of springs. I will bind Barbalis (a sort of fairies) on Yujan (Nanga Parbat or Dyamar Mountain, situated on the west of Astore). I will bind the key of Barbalis. I will bind Sumaling (a giant) of earth. I will bind all creation. I will bind Sarai (a giant) of the upper strata of the earth. I will bind seven hundred daughters of fairies. I will bind the booming of drums. I will bind the lower plains. I will bind the upper pastures. I will bind all the *chili* trees. I will bind the green banners of the fairies. I will bind the mouth of serpents. I will bind the voice of the flute. I will bind Yudaini (the fairy drum which is said to be beaten by fairies on Khaiso, a mountain near Balchi, a village in the Bagrot Valley) of Trakhan. I will bind Hazredi (a fairy) of Yudaini. I will bind the calf of the cow.

Wiyo.

I will release, I will release, I will release *Zodi* of Trakhan. I will release Hazredi, the daughter of *Zodi*.

&c. &c. &c.

If it is wished to restrain any person, phenomenon, thought, wish or desire, &c., from their natural course of action, the "Gano" is read by the Danyals on a small stone, which is then thrown towards the person or thing interested. By reciting the "Wiyo" in the same way on another stone, the person or thing is again rendered active. [791]

VII.

Omens.

Probably on account of the frequent attacks on Gilgit made by the chiefs of the surrounding States, certain signs and occurrences are considered to be omens among the Gilgitis. They are as follows:— 797 926

(1) If an unusually heavy rain falls at any season in Gilgit, it is supposed that the chief of Yasin will advance towards Gilgit.

(2) If innumerable kites are seen hovering over Gilgit, it is generally accepted that Gilgit is to be invaded by the Nagar people.

(3) If packs of wolves make frequent night visits into Gilgit, and inflict heavy losses among the flocks, it is inferred that the chief of Hunza is certainly going to invade and plunder Gilgit.

(4) If the harvest is unusually abundant, it is believed that Gilgit will be attacked by the Punyal Chiefs.

VIII.

Lunar Eclipse.

The Gilgitis say that Grahn is the name of a giant, who is a lover of the moon. On the 14th of the lunar month, when the moon is in its full beauty, the Grahn, whenever he pleases, catches hold of the moon, leaving untouched only a part which contains a big tree. At such times the people of these parts beat their iron pans (on which they cook bread) like drums and cry loudly, "O Grahn, we have brought a large force, beating drums against you; leave her (the moon), or we will rush upon thee![1]" In the meantime the Grahn yields, and they become happy at their success. 921 776

Solar Eclipse.

The Gilgit people say that whenever any good king dies or is banished from his country, the giant Grahn becomes angry against the sun, and darkens a whole or a part of his (the sun's) face, as a sign of grief for the death or the banishment of such a good king.

IX.

The Creation of the World. 973

It is said that the earth was at first enveloped in water, which was at some places frozen, and where some Yatsho (giants) had taken their abode under Yatsho Hal Singh, their ruler. On a certain day they held a council for the purpose of bringing earth over the water. Their ruler said that the task was above their power but, however, he knew of a wolf called Bujaro Shal who lived at a place named Mijgamuh (old ice) and who, owing to his great power, would be able to perform this work. "[illegible]," was first sent as a messenger by the Yatsho, but the wolf refused to come, saying that he would not

[1] [In answer to a question regarding this name, the author of the paper informs me that the original word is [illegible], which may also mean "[illegible]."—Ed.]

778 keep cows in Provision, who was a servant of everybody. On this the Vadis sent "Trust" to the well, and he came with him to the valley of the Vadis. The object was explained to him and he said that a bird called Garul Patan, who lived on the crown on the Circus Mountain, should be sent for as soon. Provision was now made the messenger; but the bird declined to come, whereupon Trust was sent to him and he came to see Bajare Shal and Vanda Mal Singh. Bajare Shal now went for a woman which lived close to his house. When everything was ready the well gave orders that Vanda Mal Singh should stand in water as a pillar upon which Garul Patan should spread his wings, while the women by the making a hole into the ice should bring out and spread all the soil over the wings of Garul Patan. The orders were obeyed and the wings of the bird covered all the water, while the women brought out all the soil which was beneath the water. In this way the earth was turned over the water.

X.*

"Shanka Ben" (The Bone Drum).

(47) 778 There used to be at Gilgit a blue stone called "Shanka Ben," about a yard square, where the present telegraph office is situated. No king was acknowledged in the country unless he had mounted on it and prostrated himself before the stone. There and then the people advanced his head with a crown, swore fealty and tendered their allegiance. This was the day when all the better class would gather to see the new "Raj" perform all the ceremonies, and undergo all obligations considered necessary to the office of leader of the nation. This was done in order to secure their confidence by a man who was to become sole director over their destinies, among them being many who had taken an active part in bringing him to the throne and proclaiming him their chief.

When the ceremonies were over, all came one by one to kiss his hands, to receive his blessings and to bless him in return. They would then dance to the beating of drums, make merry, sing praises and recite poems describing the heroic deeds already performed by the Raj, his ancestors and others whose lives had become endeared to all by self-sacrifice in the cause of their country.

• [778] The dasasi (soothsayer) was not left out on this occasion, for it was necessary to foretell the future of the king and his courtiers, and to exhibit the state of ecstasy that accompanies prophecy by the soothsayer. Before being dismissed at night all present partook of a feast; some were gratified with handsome dresses and other distinctions; some gratified by a gesture of kindliness.

The Custodians of Shiri Bai.

778 776 Fn 2 782 Shiri Bai is the name of a goddess who, as the people say, lived on a rock at Nangama, a village in the Astore district. The rock now is called Shiri Bai, and is always kept covered with branches of juniper, while an attendant called "Bab Bin" resides there to look after it. Barren women used to sacrifice goats to and pray before the sacred stone in the hope of progeny. In the late monthes, when the people had gathered their

* [illegible]

3: Muhammad AVJ Dard AVJ
782, 787, 643

/For allusions to above categories in mythology and folklore, see category 539. --Analyst/

AVS David AVS

his foster kindred accompany him. On the other hand, if he rises to influence, his foster-father is generally his most confidential adviser, and his foster-brothers are employed on the most important missions. 608

The custom of cementing friendship by the milk connection seems a favourite one. Should a woman dream that she has adopted any person as a son, or should any man dream that he has been adopted by a certain woman, the connection is carried out in the same way as the forced adoption before mentioned, and nobody would think of refusing to recognise it. The practice is now falling somewhat into disuse, but it was extremely common not many years ago. Milk from a woman's breast is esteemed a sovereign remedy for cataract and other eye-diseases. A resort to it also establishes the milk-tie for ever afterwards. [787] [757]

It is sometimes customary for a young couple, at the time of marriage, to induce a mutual friend to become their foster-father. The tie is ratified at the time of eating bread together. Bride and bridegroom being seated opposite to one another, the foster-father elect seats himself between them, and taking a piece of bread in each hand crosses his arms, observing to keep the right one uppermost, and puts the bread into their mouths. From that time he is regarded as their father.

The foster relationship is regarded as so close, that marriage between foster relations would be looked upon as incestuous, and, in spite of the precepts of the Koran, it would be impossible for a man to marry the widow of his foster-son. [735]

The formation of these ties is practised in a peculiar way among the Ashimadeh clans of Chitral. It is customary for every infant to be suckled in turn by every nursing mother of the clan; consequently there is a constant interchange of infants going on among the mothers, for the purpose of strengthening tribal unity. [853]

The Shins are noted for their miserly habits, which they sometimes carry to great extremes. Every man has a secret hiding place in the mountains, where he conceals his money, metal pots, wife's jewels, and all his most valuable property. Occasional stealthy visits are paid to the treasure, which is never taken out for use except on festive occasions. No feeling of honour seems to exist as to the appropriation of another's treasure should it by chance be discovered, and frequent quarrels arise from this cause. Treasures are frequently lost altogether by the sudden death of the owner, 854 [818]

The ordinary Mahommedan calendar is, however, coming into use, especially among the Ashimadek class. The days of the week are named according to the Mahommedan calendar, except that Friday is named Adinna.

In Bushkar and Torwal the Mahommedan calendar is followed. In the latter place the ordinary names are preserved, in the former the months are named—

Hassan Hossein.	Sowal (Great month).
Safar.	Shokadder.
Puruum ishpo (First sister).	Roz.
Dowim ishpo (Second sister).	Lokeyd (Small festival).
Thrai ishpo (Third sister).	Mihun (Intervening).
Chor ishpo (Fourth sister).	Ghoyd (Great festival).

The constellation of the Great Bear is called "the maiden's corpse," the four corner stars being supposed to represent a bier; the small star above the middle star of the tail is called the "star of life," as it is supposed to be invisible to a person forty days before death. The pleiades are called the flock of sheep; a comet, "the star with a tail," is supposed to portend the death of a king. The milky way is called the "track of the cow and horse," the tradition being that in the broad part about the middle the horse fell down from going too fast, while the cow travelled safely. The world is supposed to rest on the horns of a cow, which shakes its head occasionally at the sins of the inhabitants, and so causes earthquakes.

The west and south are always spoken of as up, and the north and east as down. A man going west or south to a place talks of going up to it. Fairies and demons that live in caves among the mountains or in desert places, have a prominent place in the belief of the Dards. Dr. Leitner has already given an account of the Yetch and its female counterpart the Rooi. In Boorishki they are known as Phunt and Billusa. Madness is supposed to be caused by a demon casting its shadow over a person, while the shadow of a fairy confers the gift of prophecy. Demons assume the appearance of human beings to lure men to destruction, but they are recognizable by their feet being turned backwards.

In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager the ruler's family is supposed to be specially under the protection of a guardian fairy called Yoodeni. A drum, called the Yoodeni drum, is always kept on the top of the ruler's castle. When it is heard to sound at certain festivals and at critical times it presages good fortune. Nobody must try to see the Yoodeni, or look in that direction

whom the drum is heard, if he did so, some evil would be certain to happen to the daring individual, the least he could expect would be that his head would be twisted round to his back, and remain so for the rest of his life. A warlike expedition undertaken without the sounding of the Yoodoni drum would certainly end in disaster.

Trial by appeal to the ordeal of fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head is placed on the open palm of the accused, on which a green leaf has first been spread. He must then deposit the hot iron at the spot appointed seven paces distant, and should any mark of a burn remain on his hand, it is a proof of guilt. The Vakeel of the Thum of Hunza on one occasion offered to subject himself to the ordeal before me, in order to clear his master of a false accusation.

Magic has a prominent place in Dard ideas, and many individuals are credited with the power of exercising magical arts. The rulers of Hunza and Nagyr are credited by their subjects with the power of producing rain. During a very severe winter I captured a full-grown markhor, which had wandered during the night into the cultivated land. The occurrence being unusual, the animal was at once regarded as a *jin*, and a deputation came to me shortly after it was captured, asking me to release it lest it should bring misfortune on the place. The death of the Wuzeer, which happened unexpectedly a few days afterwards, is still ascribed to the occurrence. Written charms are in great request, and every person wears one or more suspended to different parts of the dress by circular brass buckles. Those most in demand are charms conferring invulnerability and courage on the wearer. Charms are also attached to the mane and forelock of favourite horses. Certain springs are supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, is placed in them. This seems to have been an old and widely-spread superstition. Baber mentions it in his memoirs. "Some books mention that in Ghazni there is a fountain, into which if any filth or ordure be thrown, immediately there rises a tempest and hurricane with snow and rain."[1] The same is mentioned by another writer.[2] "Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring into which if a mixture of ordure should be thrown, the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful

[1] Baber's Memoirs by Erskine, p. 149. [2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 16.

storm of hail and wind arise. Mahmood having caused this to be done, the effects became visible; for, instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind, and hail succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around."

Divination is still practised, in spite of the conversion of the country to Mahommedanism. The Dainyals, or diviners, who are of both sexes but are more frequently women, are supposed to receive the gift of second sight by the shadow of a Boroi, or fairy, having fallen on them in sleep. Dr. Leitner speaks of the gift as being supposed to be hereditary, but this is not the case, though the daughters of Dainyals often become Dainyals also. Dainyals are said to be only found among the shepherd population, and it is easy to understand how a solitary life among the wild crags of the Hindoo Koosh should encourage a belief in the power of intercourse with the unseen world. Quite young people become Dainyals, and the spirit of prophecy is supposed to remain with them for life.

The first intimation of the gift to the friends of the recipient is conveyed by their finding him or her in a deep trance. The requisite music is brought, flageolets being substituted for the ordinary clarionets, and softly modulated airs are played close to the ear of the entranced. Gradually he moves and begins to show signs of life, on which a goat is brought and decapitated, and the bleeding neck presented to the Dainyal novice. This is the test of a true Dainyal. If the gift of divination has really come to him, he seizes the bleeding neck, and sucks the blood. Some find this too much for them, and refusing to suck the blood are looked on afterwards as only feebly gifted with the spirit of prophecy. The idea of imposture never seems to be entertained by these simple-minded people. The recognised Dainyals are consulted on all special occasions, such as the yearly festivals in summer, or the declaration of war with a neighbouring state. The spirit of divination is supposed to lie dormant in winter, and to be strong in proportion to the heat of the weather.

On the first occasion of my witnessing an incantation, two Dainyals were brought from a considerable distance to prophesy at the Ganoni festival in June. They were both women, one of about twenty-five and the other about forty years of age, who showed by their wild and haggard looks the strain of the often-practised ceremony on their faculties. A circle

4 AV3 Dard AV3
Durusha AV7

being formed round which the spectators seated themselves, a bunch of cedar twigs was placed on a flat stone and set on fire, and while two or three men vigorously blew up the flame, the Dainyal with a cloth over her head inhaled the thick pungent smoke which curled round her head, while the music played softly. In a few minutes she became violently agitated, her hands were convulsively clasped over her head, and her whole body was shaken with uncontrollable muscular motion, till, dashing the burning branches aside, she fell prostrate at the feet of the musicians, grasping the drum with her hands, and violently throwing her head backwards and forwards in a way that threatened dislocation. At length, overcome by the violence of her exertions, she fell apparently senseless on the ground. The spectators shouted long and loud at this triumphant manifestation of the fairy's presence, and the music played its loudest. Then the second Dainyal entered the circle, and in a few minutes was also lying motionless. The music now changed to a harsh cadence, and soon one, and then the other, rose and staggered round the circle in a rude attempt at stepping in time to the music. With their long hair floating loose, half-closed eyes, drunk with the fumes of the cedar smoke, and occasionally coming into collision, they formed a most weird and somewhat painful spectacle, while the shouts of the spectators rose and fell at each uncouth gesture, varied by shrill whistles that would have done credit to the gallery of a popular London theatre. The violent exertion soon produced fatigue, while the worst effects of the cedar smoke seemed to disappear and the prophesying began. While the music played softly, the two witches reduced their movements to a sort of aimless walk round the circle, with fixed and vacant gaze, occasionally one would stop and place her head close to the flutes or the drum as if listening to a language that others could not hear, and then again resume the weary round. Sometimes, during one of these pauses, one would, after listening, raise a shrill chaunt which was attentively listened to by the musicians, and after being repeated once or twice was caught up by them and loudly chaunted to the audience, while murmurs of surprise or congratulation ran round the circle.

This, varied with intervals of leaping and dancing which seemed to excite both themselves and the spectators to the highest pitch, lasted for about an hour, when the palpable exhaustion of the Dainyals made it necessary to close the meeting. A man going into the circle gave a back, as at

D 787 791 B 787 791

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU3 Afghanistan AU3-
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D leapfrog, and one of the women, taking a flying leap on to
781 his shoulders, was carried out of the ring, the second Dainyal
791 following in like fashion on another back being offered,
B and the meeting broke up. No attempt is made to direct
787 the prophecy to any topic by hint or question, and the Dainyal
791 is always free to give, as the communication of the fairy, whatever comes into her head. Considerable freedom of speech is gained in this way, and an unpopular ruler often
D gets a broad hint given him. Dainyals only exist now in Gil-
[177] git, Hunza, and Nager, the stricter Mahommedanism of the neighbouring valleys having disestablished them. Circum-
B stances point to this mode of divination being of Shin intro-
[177] duction, the majority of Dainyals being of that caste. Stronger evidence is afforded by the fact that it is incumbent upon a Dainyal, of whatever caste, to refrain from cow's milk, like the most orthodox Shin.

During the ceremony the witches attempt, occasionally, to rush out of the circle, but are thrust back by the spectators, the idea being that they are forced to prophecy against their will. Occasionally, too, they affect to become excited by the sight of certain persons, bright colours, dogs, &c., and rush at and try to tear them, but are repelled by the spectators, and so are forced to content themselves with hurling stones at the object of aversion.

According to Elphinstone's account of the Siah Posh Kaffirs, something of the same kind exists among them. He says: "They have also persons who can procure an inspiration of some superior being, by holding their heads over the smoke of a sacrifice; but these are held in no particular reverence." Moorcroft mentions mountain witches at Nadaun who were called *Dain*, and a form of divination called *Dewalla* is still practised in some parts of the Punjab.

D Serious crimes, such as murder, are rare. In Wakhan
674 murder is punished by a fine of six horses, six guns, and
681 thirty woollen robes; should the murderer be unable to pay the fine, he is forced to give up a son or daughter as a slave to the family of the murdered person. Theft is punished by a fourfold restoration of the stolen property, and the thief is bound to a tree and beaten. Grave disturbances, in which deadly weapons are used, are punished by heavy fines, and an offender is not pardoned till he succeeds in bringing a live hare to the Meer, which at certain seasons is a matter of difficulty.

D Though bloodshed is rare among the Dards as compared
674 with the Afghans, brutal murders are sometimes committed

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

000 torrent, are the natural first step in worship and in the supernatural. They are born of the solitary watching of the wandering flock in the day-time, of the sheepfold at night. The supernatural is ever with the lonely shepherd; the avalanche sweeping down the mountain side is the protest of the solitary god against any attempt to scale the approaches to his throne; the mountain sickness which seizes the wayfarer on some pass is the vengeance of the disturbed fairies; the shriek of the wind behind the veil of mist attests their presence; the snow flag streaming from some great peak is a sign of the god's abode; the voice of the gods speaks in the moaning forest and the rushing waterfall. The fairy and the god seem at first to trench on each other's domains, and the distinct separation between them is a thing of later growth. At least so it seemed to me was the case in the Hindu-Kush.

787 The last day before I left the valley I saw the
791 Dainyal. We were taken to the village dancing ground, round which sat all the men of the village, and were accommodated in the verandah of the guest house, from which an excellent view of the scene was obtained. A few old women and children were seated in an outer ring, but all the young women, dressed in their smartest clothes, were collected in the surrounding houses. The inevitable band formed part of the inmost ring. After a short interval of waiting the Dainyal stepped into the circle and sat down. She was at once covered with a woollen choga, and a platter of burning cedar-twigs was placed before her, over which she bent, inhaling the smoke. After a few minutes she

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV1

rose, and stood facing the orchestra, leaning her hand upon a drum. Bare-headed, her long black hair streaming down her back, she stood swaying slowly backwards and forwards to the accompaniment of low music from the band; gradually the band played faster and faster, the swaying quickened, until it seemed as if her neck must be dislocated by the violence of her movements, and her locks stretched to their full extent threshed in a heavy mass, at one moment over her face and bosom, the next down her back to her waist. She looked horrible, a very Mænad. Suddenly she ceased, and stood as if dazed. Then with slow and faltering step she began to wander round the circle, keeping the spectators on her right hand. The pace gradually increased until she danced round, the band keeping time to her every motion. The fairy hill lay to the north-west of the place where we were sitting, and her eyes were constantly fixed in its direction as she came round the circle and faced towards it.

I watched her very carefully, and for some time failed to detect anything but an expression of entire abstraction from her surroundings, till, in one of her circlings, she suddenly shot a glance at us, which showed that, however much the fairies possessed her, she was still fully conscious of our presence. At last, after many weary wanderings, she halted by the band, the music of which dropped to the faintest murmur, and listened first to a pipe then to a drum for the fairy voice, to be heard only by her. There was a slight pause, and then she sang a couplet, which was taken up and repeated by the village elders, who

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

787 formed a sort of chorus and sat by the band. The
791 onlookers listened with rapt attention, and it was easy to see that they were full of implicit faith in the genuineness of the "possession," and in the importance of the spoken words. Again and again the Dainyal spoke, her words being caught up and repeated by the chorus of old men. Then she wandered round the circle again, till she could think of something more to say.

We were not deprived of interludes, comic and otherwise. There was a man hanging some dyed cloths to dry in the bare branches of a walnut tree, beyond which rose the fairy hill. The man's presence, when he climbed high among the branches, infuriated the Dainyal, and she tried hard to break the ring of spectators, and to get at him. She was good-humouredly but firmly stopped, but the man was ordered out of his tree at once, and she solaced herself by throwing stones at him. I never quite made out what would have happened had she broken out of the ring while under the influence of inspiration, but it was evidently something bad, either for her or for the community at large, possibly for both.

At one period the Dainyal got tired, and sat down on a drum waiting for water to be brought. During this interval a baby began to cry, and was ordered to be removed by a peremptory glance and gesture, which were instantly obeyed. A dog came gently wandering by to investigate what was going on, and retired much injured in his feelings before a shower of stones, thrown by his familiar friends in the crowd, for dogs and babies were particularly distasteful to the Dainyal during her periods of active inspiration.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

When the water arrived, an old man pronounced a long incantation over the gourd containing it, then handed it to the woman, who, after drinking a little of it, began again her weary wanderings, sprinkling the water as she went round the circle. And so it went on, the Dainyal occasionally chewing a piece of the sacred cedar as an additional help, until all the subjects she had learnt up, or thought of interest to her hearers, were exhausted. She prophesied various things in our favour, and gave vent to one or two shrewd sayings about local abuses, which seemed to please her audience immensely. No doubt in the old days public opinion could often only reach a chief in this manner, and full advantage seems to have been occasionally taken of the opportunity, which the performance of the Dainyal afforded, of enlightening the mind of an unpopular ruler. Finally, when it was evident to all that the source of inspiration had for the day run dry, a couple of men came into the ring, and one of them stooping down and giving the Dainyal a back, she took a run and flying leap on to it, and was so gracefully carried out of the circle. A few minutes' rest in a neighbouring house, and a sprinkling of water, enabled her to come to. The whole performance was extremely curious, and there is no doubt whatever that the onlookers firmly believed in the woman being inspired.

The ceremony of initiation is unpleasant; we fortunately were spared seeing it. If any one, man or woman, claims to be inspired by the fairies, they have to go through the rites described above with a recognised Dainyal. At the end of the performance a goat is brought in and decapitated, and the novice